

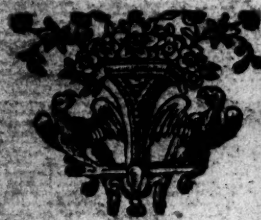
A
S H O R T
R E V I E W

OF

589.e.23
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Mr. H O O K E's

O B S E R V A T I O N S, &c.
concerning the ROMAN SENATE, and the
Character of *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*.



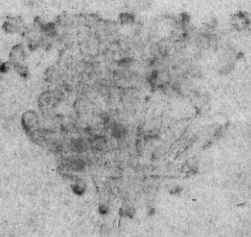
L O N D O N :

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M.DCC.LVIII.

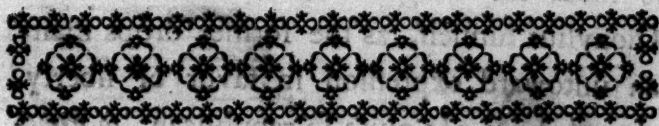
REVIEWS
OF

MR. HOOKER'S

ON THE REVOLUTIONS
CONCERNING THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND THE
CHANGING OF THE POWER OF THE EMPIRE.



LONDON:
PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.
MDCCCIII.



A

Short Review, &c.

EVERY writer, who attacks notions universally received, must have either a very great opinion of his own abilities, or a very mean opinion of the abilities of his readers.

I do not believe that a greater phenomenon has astonished the literati of the present age, than the abuse, the accumulated abuse, cast upon Dionysius of Halicarnassus by our sagacious Observer. In this unheard of attempt he supports himself, or rather endeavours to support himself, by the authority of Livy; but, after he has erected his airy edifice by the assistance of this scaffold, he throws it away, and condemns it to the flames: No wonder, since Livy deserves

to incur his indignation, almost as much as Dionysius himself, as the former drops many an untoward expression in favor of liberty, though he is not quite so republican, *so democratical, and so Greek-like* *, as the unhappy author, who is singled out to be made a martyr by the fiery zeal of an antiquated royalist. But, for the edification of those, who either have never seen his observations, or having begun them, had not patience enough to get through them, which I hear is the misfortune of many, I shall select, out of a great number of abuses, some few, which will be sufficient to display, not what they were designed for, the true character of Dionysius, but what they were not designed for, the true character of the Observer. “ Dionysius, says he, is perhaps the boldest inventor
 “ of facts, and circumstances of facts, and
 “ the most inconsistent and absurd writer, that
 “ ever disgraced the name of a historian†.
 “ The history of Servius Tullius, as given by
 “ Dionysius, is absolutely without meaning.
 “ And it is amazing that so many learned
 “ men should suffer themselves to be misled
 “ and

* Page 123.

† P. 48.

“ and bewildered by such an ignorant, prat-
 “ ing, Greek sophist*.—The whole trial of
 “ Coriolanus before the people, as related by
 “ Dionysius, seems to be a romance, contrived
 “ for no other end than to give the writer an
 “ opportunity of playing the orator and po-
 “ litician†.—His very reporting a fact af-
 “ fords a presumption that it is not true (if it
 “ be not mentioned by any other ancient
 “ writer;) and especially where the Rhetor-
 “ ician is minute and circumstantial in his
 “ relation, and finds an opportunity of shew-
 “ ing his parts in laboured speeches long and
 “ dull §.”—These speeches, which the Ob-
 servator has taken into his head to call long
 and dull, are so far from being dull, that I
 look upon them to be, next to those of De-
 mosthenes, the most perfect specimens of
 ancient eloquence, either Greek or Latin. I
 hear that this author will soon make his ap-
 pearance in our language, and do not doubt
 but that the translator may succeed well
 enough in the narration; but, if either he, or
 any other man now alive in this island, can do
 justice to Dionysius in translating his speeches,

B 2

I

* P. 185.

† P. 189.

§ P. 191.

I am very much mistaken; possibly the late Lord Bolingbroke, if he was master enough of the Greek language, with the impetuous torrent of his eloquence, and the vivacity of his expressions, might have shewn them to his countrymen in all their beauty.

Now, it has happened unfortunately for the Observator that, among the numbers of modern authors he has quoted in his voluminous pamphlet, there is not one, who does not both follow and applaud Dionysius; but, since he has thought fit to oppose the authority of Livy to that of the other historian, from whom he differs no otherwise than by sometimes omitting what Dionysius relates (as the creation of the hundred Sabines) I shall transcribe a character given of Livy, by the author *De l'Histoire des Gaules*, published not long since, par Jean-François de Brezillac, Benedictin, &c. A book very well received by the public; his words are these: Mais quelle
 “foi peut-on ajouter à Tite Live? Pour peu
 “qu’on étudie son caractère, on découvre
 “en lui une partialité qu’aucune loi ne sçau-
 “roit justifier; un dessein formé de trans-
 “porter aux Romains les victoires sans nom-
 “bre

“ bre que les Gaulois avoient remportées sur
 “ eux ; un génie fécond à inventer des fables,
 “ qui coloroient cet indigne transport ; une
 “ étude particuliere d’abandonner Polybe et
 “ les autres historiens, qui ayant écrit avant
 “ lui, détruisoient par avance les paradoxes
 “ qu’il vouloit accréditer ; une affectation
 “ outrée de tourner tantôt en mal, tantôt en
 “ ridicule, tout le bien qui étoit et qu’on re-
 “ conoissoit dans les Gaulois ; enfin une ex-
 “ tinction, j’ose dire, de tous les sentimens de
 “ la nature, puisqu’ étant lui-même Gaulois,
 “ il comptoit que ses déclamations auroient la
 “ vertu de changer son origine Celtique en
 “ origine Romaine : Comme si ces deux ori-
 “ gines étoient différentes, et que la dernière
 “ eût quelque chose au-dessus de la première ;
 “ tandis qu’elle lui devoit son existence et son
 “ lustre.” This character, which I myself
 am far enough from adopting, I doubt not
 will be admitted even by the Observator him-
 self, as it is drawn by a Frenchman, and a
 Popish priest.

But to return to Dionysius ; this great,
 this respectable historian, he has vilified
 through the sides of two learned divines (Dr.
 Middleton

Middleton and Dr. Chapman) one of whom I am informed is happily living, and both have done great honor to this generation of the literati, and to their country : The capital crime of both being their adherence to an historian, whose authority, till now, has, since the resurrection of letters, been universally appealed to, and universally relied on. However, the Observer in the height of his censure (I had almost said scurrility) repeats so often, and with so particular a complacency, the term of *both the Doctors*, that he seems to betray a zeal of another kind, I mean that of roasting Protestant parsons; this itch of parson-roasting once led men of far greater abilities than himself into a very fatal mistake ; and the literal parson-roasting in Queen Mary's time, was far from answering the design, for which it was *pioussly* intended : It made hypocrites, but no converts. The first of these two learned doctors (a title which I give to them, not in order to abuse them, but to shew that their learning has placed them above all abuse) has I find, by a small remark in the Observer *, deserved from him the utmost severity, which

zeal

* P. 211.

zeal without power can inflict: Every one knows that he has dared to derive the idolatry of the present Romans from that of their Pagan ancestors; a point of mere speculation; because, since the Protestant divines of all denominations have proved the church of Rome to be idolatrous, it is a matter of curiosity only to inquire from whom she received her idolatry. If Dr. Middleton were now alive, I am apt to believe that the Observer would not have applied to him an expression taken, as he says, from Dr. Bently, which I shall presently mention, or rather I believe the Observer would have received still a greater benefit from the Doctor's being now alive, I mean the suppression of his own observations; the polite expression, which the Observer applies to the treatise of Dr. Middleton is, that it is *nonsense fourteen stories high* *. Those, who are acquainted with the Doctor's way of writing, will be apt to think, when they read this, that he would have added an Attic story to this building, for the reception of this Censor's observations.

But,

* P. 211.

But, before I close the introduction to this short review, I cannot help taking notice of the following most amazing passage in the Observer's preface ; it is this : " The Observer, not having any thought of assuming the office of a Censor, when he began to write, what he afterwards called a Roman history, copied the collections sometimes of the Jesuits, sometimes of M. Vertot, and in so doing, adopted the tales of Dionysius"*. What conceivable motive could have induced the Observer to affect the singularity of vilifying his own history, by saying in so many words that it is, neither more nor less, than a romance at second hand ? It would shew too much ill nature to suspect that this recantation was designed for a *Προσκηρυξια*, or an anticipated claim of merit, if the event of any measures, lately perhaps in agitation, had been attended with success : Then indeed it might have been highly meritorious, not only to have retracted, but also to have calumniated both a system of liberty, and the author who had traced the outlines of that system : Then liberty, and the patron of that liberty,

Dionysius,

Dionysius would have been exploded, and submission to tyranny inculcated not only as a speculation, but as a duty. But I know that general censure can take no hold; for which reason I shall go into particulars, without pretending to follow the *Observer* through the labyrinth of all his contests with *the two Doctors*, as he affects to call them; but shall endeavour to convince my readers, that the capital points, upon which he has founded his charge against Dionysius, are, even by the authority of Livy himself, intirely groundless.

The material article, which has inspired the *Observer* with *the boldness to avow that the celebrated historian Dionysius is a mere writer of romance,—and the most injudicious, perhaps, and the most inconsistent of all historians**, is this; Dionysius asserts, that, after the peace made between Romulus and Tatius, an hundred Sabines were admitted into the senate†; and, what aggravates his want of judgment and inconsistency is, that he says, these hundred Sabines were chosen by the people, in the same manner as the first hundred senators, i. e.

How

C

by

* Preface, p. vi. and vii.

† P. II.

by the Curia*. This, according to the principles of the Observator, was giving too great a power to the people, who, as he afterwards says, *were governed by Romulus ad libitum, with absolute and uncontrollable authority*†. And, that an hundred Sabines were, upon that occasion, admitted into the senate, I shall prove, even by the authority of Livy, who, as the Observator says, *never read of their creation, or rejects what he had read of it as fabulous*‡.

It will be thought very surprizing, that the speech of Canuleius, so often quoted by the Observator against Dr. Middleton and Dr. Chapman, and so much bandied about, and canvassed by him, should, without his being aware of it, contain this proof: The words of Canuleius in Livy are these: *Quid? hoc si polluit nobilitatem istam vestram, quam plerique oriundi ex Albanis et Sabinis, non genere, nec sanguine, sed per cooptationem in Patres habetis, aut ab regibus lecti, aut, post reges exactos, jussu Populi*§. Canuleius, then, says to the Patricians, that the greatest part of them were descended from the Albans and Sabines: Now it is well

* P. 81. † P. 200. ‡ P. 44. § B. 4. C. 4.

well known, that the Patricians owed that title to their descent from senators ; the consequence of which is, that if there had been no Sabine senators, there could have been no Sabine Patricians : So that, when Livy says, *ex Albanis*, he can mean no others, than the first hundred senators chosen by the people out of the Albans, who had followed Romulus to the spot where he built Rome ; and, by *ex Sabinis*, he can mean no others, than the hundred Sabine senators ; who, as Dionysius says, were chosen by the people after the union between Romulus and Tatius. But it may be said, that this is concluding too much from two words in this celebrated passage ; I shall therefore add another passage out of Livy, where he makes use of the same words in the same sense : He tells us that, after the death of Romulus, the senate were divided concerning the choice of a future king ; that those among them, who were Sabines, *oriundi ab Sabinis*, desired to have a king of their own nation ; while the Roman senators, *Romani veteres*, desired to have a Roman king*. Now I would ask how it should possibly happen,

C 2

that

* B. I. C. 17.

that if the hundred Sabines had not been admitted into the senate, there could have been a division between the Sabine and Roman senators? But this is not all; for the Sabine senators (these no-senators according to the Observator) had influence enough in the senate, had power enough when they proposed a person of so great a character as Numa, to induce even the Roman senators, *Patres Romanos*, to concur with them in offering the crown to a Sabine.

The next authority, which the Observator produces against Dionysius, concerning the addition of the hundred Sabine senators, is derived from M. Dacier, in one of his notes upon Plutarch's life of Romulus; which, though not directly levelled against the veracity of Dionysius in this respect, is however made use of by the Observator, to shew that *Plutarch had reason not to follow the tradition of Dionysius**. After which, the Observator in the triumph of his mind breaks out into this extraordinary exclamation; *A most wonderful*

* P. 44.

*derful specimen this, of the diligence of the Greek historian in his inquiries * !*

Now the Observer is not less unfortunate in quoting Plutarch upon this occasion, than he was before in quoting Livy ; since the testimony of the former is point blank against him : For Plutarch says, in so many words, that after the peace made between Romulus and Tatius, one hundred Sabines were added to the hundred Romans, of whom, as he had before told us, the senate till then consisted : Διπλασιασθεις δε της πολεως εκαλον-
 μιν εκ Σαβινων παλριχοι προσκαλειλεχθησαν † .
 εκαλον δε τες αριτες απεδειξε [Ρωμυλος] βε-
 λευλας, και αυτες μιν παλριχους, το δε συστημα,
 Συνατον προσηγορευσεν ‡ .

But it seems that even the first hundred senators have not the good fortune to please the Observer ; the reason of which is very plain, because his political principles (no more to be concealed than the itch, though very luckily they are not so catching) lead him

* P. 45. † Plutarch's Life of Romulus, Paris edition,
 P. 30. B. ‡ Ib. p. 24. E.

him to look upon the appointment of a senate to be a dismembering of his darling prerogative, which can never shine forth in all its lustre, if a king shall be obliged to consult upon any occasion a body of men, who by law are appointed to controul, as well as advise: This consideration has given an opportunity to the Observer to describe the Roman senate under Romulus with as much politeness as eloquence in the following manner. "When
 " Romulus selected out of his followers, only
 " one hundred, to be his council of elders,
 " Livy seems to think, it might be, because
 " he had not a greater number of OLD
 " rogues in his gang, even after he had, to
 " the sweepings of Alba, added the off-
 " scourings of the adjacent countries, care-
 " fully collected by means of his Asylum*.

This, I suppose, is designed for humor, which I have not sagacity enough to discover, any more than I have to discover in Livy the least word that can support so defamatory, and so trivial a description of the Roman senate, as originally instituted by Romulus.

The

The words of Livy referred to by the Observer are as follows : *Centum creat senatores, five quia is numerus satis erat ; five quia soli centum erant, qui creari Patres possent : Patres certe ab honore ; Patricique progenies eorum appellati* *. Let the Observer's description, then, of the Roman senate remain as a perpetual monument of his justice, sincerity and candor. One might naturally imagine, that the term *αι ἀγῖοι*, made use of by Plutarch in the foregoing quotation, might have given some check to the Observer's scurrility ; but, if that was not sufficient to work so unexpected an effect, the dates of two facts recorded by Dionysius will absolutely overturn this heap of rubbish : Dionysius tells us, that Romulus opened the Asylum † after he had instituted the senate ‡ : How then could any part of the Roman senate be composed of the off-scourings of the adjacent countries, carefully collected by means of this Asylum ?

When the Observer says, that “ Dionysius, to make Romulus (a boy of 17 or 18 years of age) appear a completely wise
“ and

* B. 1. c. 2.

† B. 2. c. 15.

‡ B. 2. c. 12.

“ and great man, represents him as a won-
 “ derful politician thoroughly acquainted
 “ with the constitutions of government in all
 “ the Græcian states, of which, if we may
 “ judge from his education, he probably
 “ knew no more than he did of Tartary or
 “ China * ;” we must conclude that he either
 never read this account in Dionysius himself,
 or that he purposely omitted a circumstance
 mentioned by him, which must have spoiled
 the humor of his tale. For Dionysius, just be-
 fore he gives you the speech, in which Ro-
 mulus mentions the three sorts of govern-
 ment, which then prevailed among the Greeks,
 has obviated such trifling cavils by asserting
 positively, that his grandfather Numitor had
 suggested to him what he was to say upon
 that occasion ; ὑποβειναι τε μητροπατορος,
 και διδασκωντος α χην λεγειν † ; and, lest any
 critic (as apt to snarl as the Observer) should
 pass the same censure upon him, he has re-
 peated the same thing after the end of this
 speech of Romulus, εκ διδαχης τε μητροπατορος,
 ωσπερ εφην §. And, in order to shew that
 Romulus had an opportunity of knowing

more

* P. 198, 9. † B. 2. c. 3. § B. 2. c. 4.

more of the Græcian states than he did of Tartary or China (as it is very humorously said by the Observator) I shall quote a passage from Dionysius, by which it will appear that Romulus and Remus were sent at a proper age to Gabii to be instructed in Greek literature; *δοθῆναι εἰς Γαβίους ὡς Ἑλλάδα παιδεύαν ἐκμαθεῖν.**

The Observator begins the next paragraph with a sneer at *the original contract* entered into between the first Romans and King Romulus; and, for fear any one should be so stupid as not to know what *original contract* he sneers at, he has taken care to have those words printed in Italics: I make no doubt but those words are very unharmonious to his ears; however, lest he should not be as well acquainted with the history of his own country, as he appears, by his curious observations, to be with that of Rome, I shall beg leave to acquaint him, that, upon a very memorable occasion, the house of Lords and Commons concurred in voting that “ King James the II^d had broken the *original contract* between king and people.”

D

The

* B. I. c. 84.

The setting aside the sons of Ancus he calls a violation of *hereditary right* *. And tho' he no where condescends to be civil to the two doctors, he is however, graciously pleased to pay a compliment to Mr. Hume, as a writer of incomparable talents, for having told us, " in an admirable work."—" That in
 " all the European monarchies, the people
 " *have* privileges, but whether dependent or
 " independent on the will of the monarch, is
 " a question that in most governments it is
 " best to forbear."

The next thing I shall take notice of will be a point of criticism upon the Greek language : The Observer quotes the passage of Dionysius in Greek, in which he says, that after Romulus and Tatius had doubled the number of the Patricians, they added to the Senate one hundred of these Patricians chosen by the Cūria : Dionysius then says, *περι ΜΕΝ ΤΕΤΩΝ ΟΛΙΓΟΥ ΔΕΙΝ* παντες οι συγκαταφαιτες τας Ρωμαϊκας ιστορίας συμπεφορηκασιν· ολιγοι ΔΕ τινες περι τε πληθους των προσκαταγραφεντων βουλευτων διαφερονται· ε γαρ εκατον, αλλα
 πεντηκοντα

* P. 93.

† P. 200.

πεντηκοντα τες επισελθοντας εις την βαλην
 αποφαινεσι γενεσθαι*. With regard to this
 passage, the Observator says, that he has
 “ inserted it as it stands in Dionysius, that
 “ those, who have a more critical know-
 “ ledge of the Greek than I have, says he, may
 “ determine, whether the words *ολιγες δειν*
 “ cannot be construed to import that *some*
 “ *few* writers contradicted or omitted the
 “ whole account †.” This liberty, therefore,
 I shall make use of, without pretending to
 have a more critical knowledge of the Greek
 than the Observator. It is plain, from the
 genius of the Greek language, that the words
ολιγες δειν cannot be construed in the sense
 contended for by the Observator; because
ολιγες δειν must be joined with *παυτες*, who
 agreed in this account, and *ολιγοι δε τινες*
 must be understood of those few writers, who
 agreed in the account in general, but disagreed
 in the number of Senators then admitted.
 This is put beyond all doubt by the
ανταποδοσις ΔΕ, which always either contra-
 dicts, or qualifies the particle *MEN* in the
 D 2 foregöing.

* B. 2. c. 47.

† P. 45.

foregoing sentence; and the last is the effect of it in this.

However, it seems, that Dionysius is not only to be censured for a neglect in matters of consequence, but is also to be teized for small improprieties. The Observator says that he is "remarkably careless of making" [in making] the due distinction between "*Populus* and *Plebs**." I believe the Observator never met with either of those words in his history; but, if he means *Δημος* and *Δημοτικοί*, they signify the same thing. And this will lead us to examine the division of the Romans, as laid down by the Observator.

" First, the *Patres*, or Senate.

" Second, the *Plebs*, containing the knights,
" and all the citizens, except the Senators.

" Third, the *Populus*, containing both Senate and *Plebs*.

" These are the distinctions, he says, we
" find in Livy's history of the kings of
" Rome†."

As

* P. 137.

† P. 47.

As to the first of these divisions, there is no difficulty in it.

But the second is absolutely unsupportable: For, if the *Plebs* contained the knights, and all the citizens except the Senators, the *Plebs* contained all the Patricians, who were not Senators, which even the Observator himself will not pretend to assert.

The third division is nearly as exceptionable as the second: For Livy himself, whom the Observator quotes upon this occasion, does not always make this distinction even in his history of the Kings of Rome; but frequently makes use of *Populus*, in contradistinction to the Senate. One passage in this author will be sufficient to convince the reader of the truth of this observation: *Decreverunt enim (Patres) ut cum Populus regem jussisset, id sic ratum esset si Patres autores fierent**.

The next objection made by the Observator to the diligence, fidelity and accuracy of Dionysius is expressed in these terms:

“ How

* B. i. c. 17.

“ How can a writer be thought qualified to
 “ give an exact and faithful history of Rome,
 “ who with great gravity, and an air of in-
 “ structing his reader in a nice point, tells
 “ him, that the Patricians in Comitia Cen-
 “ turiata, though inferior in number, were
 “ superior in strength to the Plebeians*.”

Now, if I can prove, I do not say by the au-
 thority of Dionysius, from which the Obser-
 vator has nobly emancipated himself; but
 by the nature of the thing itself, from which
 the judgment of Dionysius seldom varies, that
 the Patricians were superior to the Plebeians
 in the Comitia Centuriata, what will become
 of this want of exactness, and fidelity in Dio-
 nysius, and of his humorous air of gravity and
 instruction? Will not every learned and im-
 partial reader say, that he is much better qua-
 lified to write, than the Observator to judge?
 In this unequal combat between the Obser-
 vator and Dionysius, the former is, whatever
 he may think, *impar congressus Achilli*. The
 Greek's armour, his Vulcanian armour, is of
 such a temper, that it has contracted firmness,
 not rust, from age; and he enters the lists,
 not

* P. 137 and 51.

not as the Roman generals entered the city adorned with the spoils of enemies, but with the well deserved applauses of every reader in every age. The Observator has loaded Dionysius with such opprobrious language for saying that the Patricians were superior in power to the Plebeians in the Comitia Centuriata, that he seems to have set up his rest upon this charge; the decision of which must therefore determine the contest between Dionysius and the Observator: I place it in this light, to the end, that if the latter is overcome, he may please himself with having contended with Dionysius. In discussing this question, I am very glad to have the assistance of Livy, who gives directly the very same account of the institution of the Comitia Centuriata with Dionysius, and draws the same consequence from it, namely, that the Patricians in the Comitia Centuriata were superior in power to the Plebeians. But, in order to give all possible satisfaction to the reader, I shall transcribe the words of both historians.

Ταυτο συνιδων ο Τυλλιος ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥΣ
ΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΥΣ ΜΕΤΕΘΗΚΕ ΤΟ ΤΩΝ
ΨΗΦΩΝ

ΨΗΦΩΝ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ. ὅποτε γὰρ ἀρχὰς
 ἀποδεικνύειν, ἢ περὶ νόμου διαγινώσκειν, ἢ πολε-
 μὸν ἐκφέρειν δοξοῖεν αὐτῷ, τὴν λοχίτιν αὐτὴ τῆς
 φετρακῆς συνήγειν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐκαλεῖ δὲ εἰς
 ἀποφασιν γνώμης πρῶτος μὲν λοχὺς τῆς ἀπο-
 τῆ μεγίστης τιμῆματος, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ὅτε τῶν
 ἵππεων οκτωκαίδεκα, καὶ οἱ τῶν πεζῶν ογδοη-
 κόντα. οὗτοι τρισὶ πλείους τῶν ὑπολειπομένων εἰ
 το αὐτὸ φρονήσκειν ἐκράτην τῶν ἑτέρων, καὶ τέλος
 εἶχεν ἡ γνώμη· εἰ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
 προαίρεσιως ἅπαντες ἕτοι, τότε τῆς ἀπο τῆ
 δευτέρης τιμῆματος καταγραφέντας εἰκοσὶ καὶ
 δύο λοχὺς ἐκαλεῖ. μεριάζουσιν δὲ καὶ τότε τῶν
 ψηφῶν, τῆς ἀπο τῆ τρίτης τιμῆματος ἐκαλεῖ
 καὶ τετάρτης, τῆς ἀπο τῆ τετάρτης τιμῆματος.
 καὶ τὸ τῷ ἐποιοῖ μέχρι τῆ γενέσθαι λοχυς ἑπτὰ
 καὶ ἐννεηκόντα ἰσοψηφῆς. εἰ δὲ μέχρι τῆς πεμ-
 πτης κλησιῶς μὴ τύχοι τὸ γένομενον, ἀλλ'
 εἰς ἰσα μέρη χωρίζειν αἱ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐννεηκόντα
 δύο λοχῶν γινώμει, τότε τὸν ἑκατὸν ἐκαλεῖ
 λοχόν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τὸν ἀπορῶν, καὶ διὰ τὸ τῷ
 ἀφαιμένῳ ἅπασης στρατείας τε καὶ εὐφορίας
 πολιτῶν πλῆθος ἦν. ὅποτερὰ δὲ προῖται μερίδων
 ὁ λοχὸς ἕτος, αὕτη τὸ κράτος ἐλαμβάνει. τὸ

ΜΕΤΕ ΟΤΙ ΕΚΗΘΕΤΗΝ ΣΥΟΙΣΤΟΙΣ

δ' ἢ σπανίων καὶ ἔμειναν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδυνατεῖ*.

Hæc omnia in *Dites* à pauperibus inclinata onera. deinde est honos additus. non enim (ut ab Romulo traditum, cæteri servaverant reges) *viritim* suffragium eadem vi, eodemque jure promiscue omnibus datum est; sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur, et *vis omnis penes Primores civitatis* esset. Equites enim vocabantur primi; octoginta inde primæ classis centuriæ; ibi si variaret, quod raro incidebat, ut secundæ classis vocarentur, nec fere unquam infra ita descenderent, ut ad infimos pervenirent †.

It is very remarkable that not only the sense, but also the expressions should be almost the same in both the historians; and still more remarkable that the Observer should assert “ that neither the Greek historian, nor the Latin—imagined that the Patricians were superior in strength to the Plebeians in [the] *Comitia Centuriata* ||.”

I have said that it might be proved from the nature of the thing itself, that by the institution

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stitution

* Dionysius, B. 4. c. 20. † Livy, B. 1. c. 43. || P. 137.

stitution of the Comitia Centuriata, the power was transferred from the Plebeians to the Patricians ; for we will suppose with Livy, who quotes Fabius Pictor §, that upon this first census taken by Tullius, there were 80,000 men capable of bearing arms ; every one of these 80,000 men voted in the Comitia Curiata, as Livy says *viritim*, that is, every individual had a vote ; whereas, in the Comitia Centuriata the Plebeians, of whom the last class and century consisted, being more numerous than all the rest, *πλεῖους ἀριθμῶν ὅντες τῶν προτέρων* †, had but one vote ; neither did they give that vote, unless, after the other 192 centuries had voted, there were 96 on each side ; which both by Livy and Dionysius we find scarce ever happened. 40,000 Plebeians therefore at least of these 80,000 were indirectly excluded from voting in the Comitia Centuriata : And both the historians inform us, that the generality of questions was carried by the votes of the knights, and of the 80 first centuries, which, if they agreed, made a majority of three ; and the centuries of the
2d,

§ B. 1. c. 44.

† Dionysius, B. 4. c. 18.

2d, 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th class were all successively less important, as they were more numerous; and the last class of all, being by much the most numerous, was the least important.

The Observator has made a trifling distinction between *Dites* and *Primores civitatis*†, in the passage last quoted from Livy, as if the *Dites* were not the *Primores civitatis*; but the reader will observe, that Livy calls them *Dites*, when he says the greatest burden of the taxes was laid upon them; and *Primores civitatis*, when he says the power was lodged in them: So that, this just observation of Livy will be an unmeaning jargon, if the *Dites* in one place are not to be looked upon as the same persons with the *Primores civitatis* in the other. Dionysius has followed exactly the same method; for, having said ἐπὶ τῆς πλεονεξίας μετέθηκε τοῦ τῶν ψήφων κρατος, he upon many occasions afterwards explains, τῆς πλεονεξίας by τῆς Πατρικίας. Εἰ δὲ ταῖς λαχίτισιν ἐκκλησίαις οἱ Πατρικιοὶ, παρα

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† P. 185, 6.

πολυ των αλλων ελαττες οντες, περιησαν των
Δημοτικων*.

The Observer is so averse to the people's having a share in any government, that in order to support what he says upon this occasion, he has recourse to a very disingenuous practice, for he says "Nor is Romulus represented by Dionysius as leaving the people free to chuse a democracy, he tells them, that, among many forms of government, there are *three* much more esteemed than the rest; but he does not once mention to them a popular government; he proposes to their choice no other forms but monarchy and oligarchy†." Here he has curtailed the passage in Dionysius, and made him express himself in a manner he was very incapable of: The fact is this; Dionysius makes Romulus tell his followers that there are *three* forms of government much more esteemed [commended *επαινεμενας*] than the rest. After which the Observer says he proposed to their choice only *two*: But after the words

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* B. xi. c. 45.

† P. 93.

ἐπ' ὀλιγῶν, as quoted by the Observator, the Vatican manuscript has these that follow, εἴτε νόμους καταστήσαντες ΠΑΣΙΝ ἀποδοῦναι τὴν τῶν κοινῶν προφασιν; which words Lapus must have found in his manuscript, because he has translated them, *an et constitutis legibus populo committere reipublicæ patrocinium*; both which are inserted in the margin of Hudson's edition, which the Observator always makes use of; so that, if he did not understand the Greek, he might at least have found them in Lapus's translation: But it is plain that he omitted these words in order to support his favorite system; the depriving the Roman people, (and by inference all others) of any share in the government: For can it be imagined that Romulus should first mention three sorts of governments, and then leave it to them to chuse no other forms but monarchy and oligarchy? Neither the Greek, nor the Latin authors write in this manner, but are much more consistent; and above all things take care that their conclusions shall be co-extensive with their premises.

The Observator still pursues the same scent, that is, an outrageous aversion to any sort

fort of power in the people, and, because the first dictator was created without an appeal to them, concludes that there never lay an appeal from the dictators to the people. Can it be thought that a person of so great eminence as M. Fabius, who himself had been three times consul, and once dictator, would have appealed to the people from the dictator L. Papirius Cursor, if at that time, there had lain no appeal from the dictators to the people*? But the two laws, made after the suppression of the decemvirs, will in my opinion put this matter past all doubt. The first is in these words: *Ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocatione crearet; qui creasset, eum jus fasque esset occidi; neve ea cædes capitalis noxæ haberetur* †. The terms of the second law are these: *Qui plebem sine tribunis reliquisset, quique magistratum sine provocatione creasset, tergo et capite puniretur* §. These two laws very clearly prove, that after the suppression of the decemvirs, that is, in the time of L. Papirius, there lay an appeal from the dictators to the people.

However,

* Livy, B. 8. c. 33.

† B. 3. c. 55.

§ Id. ib.

However, the Observator does not content himself with objecting to the fidelity and exactness of Donysius as an historian, but is resolved also to censure him as a man; for he says, that he was *hired* to write his history *. This ridiculous charge, that Dionysius was hired, I have met with in some little French writers, from whom I dare say he copied it: But neither these writers, nor the Observator, would have found any ground for it, if they had read Dionysius in his own language. I am not at all surprized that the French writers look upon every author to be hired, since it is well known that Lewis XIV. had a band of writers as regularly retained in his service, as his guards; for which reason, every thing that was written during his reign concerning his person and government, was rather a panegyric than a history. But I shall content myself with two passages out of many from Dionysius, in order to shew that if, as they say, he was hired to flatter either Augustus, or the Romans, he most certainly was not worthy of his hire; for he has there departed from his own character of mildness

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and humanity to censure both. Dionysius, in speaking of the violence made use of by the magistrates of his time in extorting their magistracies, says *Ἔστι δ' ὅτε βιαζόμενοι, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀρπαζόντες, μάλλον ἢ λαμβανόντες.** Must not Dionysius have been the most awkward of all flatterers to revive the memory of the outrageous violence committed by the orders of Augustus in forcing the Senate to grant him his first consulship? The story is too well known to need a repetition: The next passage I shall quote, contains a severe reflection upon the Romans of his own time, which was suggested by the poverty and virtue of Q. Cincinnatus: *Ταῦτα δὲ ἔχ' ἕτερος τινος χάριν εἶπεν προηχθὲν, ἀλλ' ἵνα φανερόν γενηταὶ πασὶν ὅσοι τότε ἦσαν οἱ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως προέστωτες, ὡς αὐτῶργοι καὶ σωφρονεῖς, καὶ πένιαν δίκαιαν ἔβαρυνόμενοι, καὶ βασιλικὰς ἔδιωκοντες ἐξουσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίδομεναι ἀναινομένοι. φανήσονται γὰρ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εὐχότες ἐκείνοις οἱ νῦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα ἐπιτηδεύοντες, πλὴν πανυ ὀλίγων δι' ὧς ἐστὶν ἐτι τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα, καὶ τοῦ σώζειν τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους*
τῆς

* B. 2. c. 6.

της ἀνδρᾶς ὁμοιοτητα*. It is left to every impartial reader to determine whether Dionysius, instead of flattering the Romans of his own time, has not by this reflexion left an indelible mark of ignominy upon them.

And here I shall close this short review of Mr. Hooke's Observations, &c. for no reader could have patience to wade through particular answers to the repetitions and contradictions of this censor's observations, any more than through the observations themselves; besides this polemical and contentious way of writing is not at all agreeable to my own disposition.

Scurrilous criticisms, like monstrous births, are generally of short duration: this was the fate of Zoilus's criticism upon Homer; the criticism of this *Ὀμηρομαστιξ* is lost, and never mentioned but to be detested; while the works of his antagonist will remain for ever to be admired: the same deserved fate will, I make no doubt, attend this outrageous and trifling criti-

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cism;

* B. 10. c. 17.

cism; the criticism of this Διονυσιομαγίξ will be too much despised to suffer by being forgotten; while the faithful and impartial, the entertaining and instructive history of Dionysius will remain for ever to be admired by future ages, as it has hitherto been admired by those that are past.



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